"The following early figures on the population are presented by Damm:

1797	(Wilson)about	200
1828	(Lütke) about	150
1852	(Cheyne) about	140
1903/4	(Sievers)	281
1909	(Hamburg Expedition)	208
1914	(Finsch) about	300
1930	Pacific Is. Pilot	305

The first three are estimates, useless for indicating change in the course of time. The last four seem more trustworthy. That of the Hamburg Expedition is much smaller than the rest. This may be a result of the typhoon of 1907. Not many lives were lost in that disaster, but, judging by native accounts of all such occasions, the destruction of food-bearing plants probably led to emigration on a considerable scale. By 1914 most of the refugees may have returned.

One more figure, for 1937, is available from a Japanese source (Civ. p. 33). The total given is 388. It is of dubious value, to say the least. It is the sum of figures for

three islands: Flalap (76), Ifalik (269), and Pik (54). Now Flalap (Falālap) is indeed the name of one of the inhabited islands. Ifalik might be used for the other island, Falārik, though the natives use it only for the whole atoll; and the figure given is large for Falārik. But there is no such island as Pik. The third island on Ifalik is Ellā, and it has been uninhabited as far back as native tradition goes, except that during the American trusteeship, the atoll's one leper has been quarantined there. Moreover, the totals attributed to the three islands add up to 399, instead of the 388 given as the total. There is an islet called Pik on the nearby atoll of Faraulep. Subtracting the 54 attributed to Pik would give a total of 345 for the two inhabited islands of Ifalik. But the figures are in such a muddle that they can lead to nothing but guesswork.

Comparing the last four figures in Damm's list with the 250 of 1947-8 suggests a decrease in population during the 20th century. That suggestion, for what it is worth, supports the frequent assertion of natives that the population was much larger formerly than it is now. There are several other indications of depopulation: the number of old house sites now unoccupied; the constitution of some of the present households; the ratio of children to married couples in the present population. For lack of better evidence, these must be considered in some detail.

As for the abandoned house-sites, there is, of course, no assurance that all of them were ever occupied at one time. But on the island at Falārik there are two [4] clusters

of them long enough to show on the map (Fig. 2). One is between Rauau and Falārik districts. This now uninhabited stretch of road is lined with old house sites. The other is at the north end of the island, beyond what is now the last house. Two canoe-houses are still maintained there, though there are now no dwellings near; and the site of an old men's house (bachelors' dormitory and meeting-house) is pointed out near the northernmost canoe-house, far from any present dwelling. It seems unlikely that such considerable areas would have been left vacant just by casual moving about.

The constitution of some households which differ from the usual pattern also suggests a dwindling population. The household called Uaragin includes two married couples. Both are examples of patrilocal residence; that is, the wife has come to live at the husband's home. This is contrary to local custom. Of the members of this household, only one belongs to the lineage which traditionally owns the site. This is the husband in the elder generation. If he had gone to live at his wife's home, as is customary, the site would have been abandoned. His son, the husband in the younger generation, has also deviated from custom by bringing his wife home instead of going to live with her people. The household called Foraik is another example. The whole lineage that formerly lived there had died out. The present occupants moved in from Welipeien, the site next door. Finally, the only household on the island which has been newly established in the present generation is at Uluās. It consists of a single family, a married couple and their daughter. They went there to reoccupy an abandoned site

which belongs to the husband's clan. All these deviations from custom, then, are attributed to a wish to keep occupied, or to reoccupy, sites which by the customary pattern of residence would have been abandoned.

A third sign of depopulation is the fact that, although there are 60 married couples in the present population, there are only 81 children less than 20 years old. The latter figure, an estimate worked out by Spiro from relative ages, includes orphans and children of widows as well as children of the married couples. If the fertile part of the population was reproducing itself, the number of children would be at least 120.

Although none of these indications, taken by itself, is convincing, they add up to a probability that Ifalik has been sharing in the general depopulation of the Yap district. Reasons for this are by no means certain. Undoubtedly foreign contact, even in this remotest island of Micronesia, has had something to do with it, by means of introduced diseases if nothing else. Poor sanitation undoubtedly aggravates the damage done by disease. Inadequate diet, especially a shortage of Vitamin E, may play a part of reducing fertility. Disapproval of sexual intercourse between parents until the last baby can walk may cut down the birth rate. Yet if extra-marital intercourse is as prevalent as gossip makes it out to be, it should make up for that. Infant mortality is presumably high, though statistics are lacking to prove it.

Probably study of one island can contribute only a little toward a solution of this problem. Depopulation has been widespread in the Pacific. One encouraging feature

is that in many islands where foreign influence has been greater than in Ifalik, the population, after declining for a time, began to hold its own and then to increase. (Ref. Keesing). Another is the likelihood that American medical care will reduce the death rate."

2: Damm et al. --11 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Ifaluk

Only the two larger islands of the atoll, Felādjïk and Falālăp were inhabited; Elă had never been settled. The population was divided in the following manner:

Year	Source	Felādjïk	Falālăp	Total
1797	Wilson			about 200
1828	Lütke *			about 150
1852	Cheyne			about 140
1903-4	Sievers			281
1909	Hamburg South Sea Expedition	109	99 (62 in the south, 37 in the north district)	208
1914	Finsch			about 300
1930	Pacific Islands Pilot			305

* Lütke believed that this number was fairly accurate; his companion, von Kittlitz, speaks of a very large population.

2; Damm et al. --116
116, 161, 175

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

The population is small; the following table lists them together:

Year	Population	Source
1791	about 50	Hunter (according to Gulick, page 59)
1828	about 30	Lütke, 1835, Vol. II, p. 326
1844	about 150	Cheyne, 1852, page 138
1900	50	Brigham, 1900, page 62
1903	48	Sievers, Vol. II, p. 364, 347; More information Deutsch Schutzgeb. Vol. 17, p. 194-196. Deutsches Kolonialblatt Vol. 15, p. 12-14.
1909	60-80	Hamburg South Sea Expedition
1914	about 50	Finsch, 1914, page 64
1930	113	Pacific Islands Pilot, 1933, page 501.

2: Damm et al. --155 [2] (1909) 1938 Wolleaians
116, 131, 161 Faraulep

The atoll consists of three islands: the large Faraulip, and the second Pfx (Piko [Hambruch], Pig [Reichsmarineant], Pigue [Pacific Islands Pilot]), both of these are inhabited; the smallest island and the one farthest south, Eäd (Eatto [Hambruch], Eat [Reichsmarineant], Eate [Meinicke, Pacific Islands Pilot, Japanese Chart]) was formerly inhabited also, according to Hambruch, but since the devastations of a typhoon it has never been resettled.

The population has never been large, but we can not discover on what grounds Gulick and Meinicke state that the islands are uninhabited. As a matter of fact, only the smallest island Eād is uninhabited, and it is [156] quite probable that this situation is fairly recent. The following figures are given:

Year	Total	Faraulip	Pīx	Observations	Source
1828	about 60				Lütke, 1835 Vol. 2, p. 326
1903-4	121			1 native merchant	Sievers, 1910, Bk. 2, p. 347, 364. Finsch, 1914, page 64.
1909	155	96	59	14 of them on Yap	Hamburg South Sea Expedition
1912	80				Kolonial-Lexicon Bk. 1, p. 600.
1930	145			10 Japanese are included	Pacific Islands Pilot, 1933, page 503.

2: Damm et al. --155-156 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 161, 175 Faraulep

There is a decline of nearly 50% in the population between 1909 and 1912. This can scarcely be attributed to the islanders' fondness for travel. It seems to be due to the progressive decay which Sievers noted, and which Hambruch said was formerly traced to the constant civil wars.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 609, 142 Aurupik

Only Aúrepik and Oão, the two larger ones of the 5 islands of this atoll, are inhabited. The people of Aúrepik received the strangers hospitably, and they were courteous and communicative...and even the smallest children did not show the slightest fear... The population consisted of some 60 - 80 estimated persons. With regard to their appearance two types could be distinguished: one, very frequent type was brachycephalous and had a stout stature; the other type was less brachycephalous and somewhat slenderer. In general the skin of the women showed a lighter color than that of the men, and sucklings had almost the color of white babies.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--257 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 177, 441 Woleai

[AN: Considerable increase of ethnographic material noted by Hellwig].... There were many similarities to Truk culture, and we found material proof of the earlier direct relations with the remote Truk group. Many ornaments had come from Aúrepik and the rather distant Ngulú and Poloot (Puluwat) groups. A Spanish and a Japanese merchant, who before the typhoon had trade stations on the group, are said to have imported special ornaments of Spondyl shell. To this Japanese, the natives apparently owed the iron kitchen pots and the other European implements that could be found in every household.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--258-259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 361, 621

On Faraulip Hambruch had counted 2 villages under one chief and two lesser chiefs; 18 dwelling houses, 4 menstruation houses, 1 ghost house. Population figure: 96 (14 of them had gone to Yap). The island of Pig is smaller than [259] Faraulip...17 dwelling houses, 14 cook houses, two ghost houses, and 59 inhabitants were counted. In earlier times the population was larger. The deserted station of a Japanese merchant could also be seen. The third little island of this group, Eat, is uninhabited since the typhoon.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 167, 342, 731 Ifalik

Feladjik has 109 inhabitants, the second island, Falāláp, 99, while Elă, the third island of the atoll, was uninhabited. In 1904 the population figure was still as high as 281. During the last typhoon (March 27, 28th, 1907) 35 persons perished.... The atoll was settled from Yap... Only Wólea, Lámutrik.,. and Faraûlip had been settled from Ífaluk ....Fraûlip had been depopulated by civil wars, Faladjik and Felāláp are inhabited only to the north; the farmsteads are dispersed at intervals along the coast. House construction is little developed.

4: Krämer--1
116, 161, 167, 731

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: Natives: Lámutrik has a population of no more than 200, who may be looked upon as new arrivals. Sixty years ago the tidal wave of a typhoon had in part destroyed the population and in part had forced it to emigrate to Truk, Jap, and Saipan; later on some of them returned to their home islands.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131, 161 Olimarao

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch p. 34]: The Olimaráu Islands (Hambruch: Olimaraue, story 2 of Füs) are located northeast of the Elato Islands; they are uninhabited. To this group belong the two islands of Olimaráu and Falipi. The former is located in the northeast and the latter in the southwest of the same reef.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 731 Elato

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: In 1903 the population [MR: of Elato] amounted to 90 heads; probably it has decreased even further through the typhoon of March 28, 1907.

4: Krämer--3-4 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131, 161 Lamotrek

Pacific Islands Pilot, Vol. I, page 504: The Lamotrek Islands, approximately 5 miles east of the Elato Islands consist of 3 weeded islets on a triangular atoll. The island of Lamotrek, with an elevation of 107 feet (32.6 meters) up to the tops of the trees, is located at the extreme eastern tip of the atoll. The passage approximately 3/4 of a mile south of Puguet Island, the northernmost of the islands, is the widest and best of those leading into the lagoon. During the time of the northeastern winds the high seas set through it into the lagoon and special care is necessary. There is an entrance in the middle of the south side of the atoll; it has a width of about 2 cable lengths. This entrance is hard to find but is good when the winds are strong. Westward of the latter there is another entrance which is approximately 1-1/2 cable lengths in width. All the other entrances are narrow. [4]

Off the western side of Lamotrek (Lat. 7° 28' N and Long. 146° 24' E.) there is an anchorage with shelter from northeast winds, but it is reported that when westerly winds are blowing the sea may become rather high. Landings are possible on the sandy beach at the western side of Lamotrek Island. In 1930 Lamotrek had a population of 165 including one Japanese.

The islands of Pugue and Falaite were uninhabited. There is little fowl and few pigs, but fish are abundant.

4: Krämer--4
116, 161

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Olimarao

[MR: From the British Pacific Islands Pilot, p. 504]: The atoll [MR: Olimarao] does not have any permanent inhabitants, but is occasionally visited by the natives of Elato.

4: Krämer--10 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 175 Elato

We heard that no more than 220 natives were left on Lamotrek; it is said that in 1890 they still numbered 300 and that in former times the figure was a high as 1000. These statements are in line with the information received by the shipwrecked who reached the shores of the island in 1787 and who gave the population as 1400. Freycinet on page 101 says that Lamoursek had 2000, Elato 1200 and Ulor 180 inhabitants, and that 170 people lived on Puk and 130 on Falati; his figures would apply to the time around 1800. Even on Goulimarao (Olimarau) the natives were supposed to have numbered 225. During our stay on the island there were many cases of influenza and dysentery so that we may assume a further decrese in the population figures. The Pacific Islands Pilot (page 4) says that in 1930 there were no more than 165 inhabitants on Lamotrek and 72 on Elato.

Accordingly in 1800 when the king of Lamotrek ruled over almost all the coral islands, the population was undoubtedly very large and possibly we were dealing with overpopulation which later was reversed (see Oleai).

4: Krämer--17 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 103, 161 Olimarao

4. Olimarau is uninhabited*; the name is derived from vol "opposite the blue sea" (Truk: madau). It is located 26 nautical miles northwest of Elato. The natives visit the island for turtle fishing. Hambruch learned that the last native of Olimarau had died in 1899 on Lamotrek.

* According to Freycinet Goulimarao around 1800 had 225 inhabitants

4: Krämer--183
116, 103, 131, 161

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

OLEÁI

(Map 4) [VMM: See 4: Krämer 184]

Position: halfway between Lat. 7° 21' N. and Long. 143° 55' E.

Exact position: northern tip of Raur, Lat. 7° 21' 39" N. and Long. 143° 57' 30" E.

Südsee-Hanbuch, page 36: The Oleai Islands (Oleai, Uleai, Wolea, Ulie, Anangai) are located approximately 130 nautical miles west of the Elato Islands. The group comprises two atolls which surround a western and an eastern lagoon. The former is larger, but the bigger islands are grouped around the eastern lagoon. The main island of Flalap, located on the northern side of the eastern lagoon, gradually is connected with the island of Marijong (Mariom) by means of a sand dune which follows in the west; this same sort of bridge exists also with Paliau located to the southeast, which in turn is linked to Raur in the south. The group is formed of 19 islands--some of them large and some of them small--only the eight largest are inhabited, whereas the others exhibit a luxuriant growth of coconut palms and tall breadfruit trees. The names of the inhabited islands are Raur, Flalap (Oleái), Marijong, Tagaulap, Saliap, Utagal and Falalis.

4: Krämer--186
116, 161, 504

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Two white houses are visible on the southwestern beach of Woleai, the northernmost of the islands of the group, but they cannot be seen distinctly. Two wooden landing bridges are found in the center of the southern side of the island of Marion approximately 4 cable lengths west of Woleai; the northern pier is weak. There is another pier at the southernmost tip of the island. In 1930 the population of the group numbered 539 persons.

4: Krämer--189
116, 161, 175

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

[VMM: James Wilson of the "Duff" estimated the population of the Woleai Group as 3150, in 1797.]

4: Krämer--201-202 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 175 Woleai

As on Lamotrek, a strong decrease of the population took place in the Oleai group. Freycinet (page 101) says that around 1800 the population figure for Guliay was 3,000. In addition, the following islands must be mentioned to give a true picture of the group: Raor (Raur) with a population of 110, Paliao (Paliau) 125, Mariog (Mariong) 90, Fagoun-lap (Tagaulap) 86, Soliap (Soluap) 70, Fallougla (Votagai?) 50, Harradies (Falalis) 50, Falouelap (Falulap) 36, Hanarisaray (Eangaligarail) 32. It is news that the latter was inhabited at all. On the other hand, the old main island of Votagai is missing. It is not clear whether these figures are included among the population of 3,000 given for Guliay, or whether they are to be added. In any case 3,000 would be much too high a figure for one coral island, since Volea or Falalap, the main island of Oleai, barely has an area of one square kilometer. Under very favorable conditions, 1000 people can subsist on the products of one square kilometer of tropical land, but 3000 is an utter im-possibility. Thus the figure is either wrong or it applies to the entire atoll with all its islands. [202]

I learned on the spot that Falalis, like Volea, in the past had a population of 300(cf. 3000 given above), but that in 1909 only 30 persons inhabited Falalis, 60 Tagaulap, 50 Mariong, 200 Raur before the typhoon, and 60 Paliau. Probably we might assume 300 each for Volea and Votagai in the past. Gulick, in the Nautical Magazine of 1862, page 174, states that the population numbers about 600. As mentioned above, the figure for 1904 was 661 and for 1930, 539.

5: Kittlitz--124
116, 161, 137

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
West Fayu

We hunted in vain for the Mannaïjö sandbank, which Don Luis de Torres had mentioned, and then we steered west again, and on the 22nd of February we sighted the little islands Pyghellá and Fajähú. Neither one is inhabited; on Pyghellá we saw some coconut palms rising above the succulent bushes, on Fajähú there were tall trees, but no palms.

7: Senfft--194
116, 131, 161

(No date) 1904

Weleaians
Aurupik

Aurepik is an atoll comprising four islands, Aurepik, Uau, Pikéfaj, and Elangkitegit, of which the first two are inhabited. The vegetation is the same as that on the other atolls. Coconuts trees are predominant here also.

8: Senfft--284 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
161, 784, 828 Gaferut

This island [MR: Grimes] is known to the natives by the name of "Gaferut," but they have never visited it. They call it the "devil's island" and are afraid to come near it. Yet they were unable to explain their fear for not even any member of the crew of the ship had seen it.

12; Lutke--107-108 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131, 175, 161 West Fayu

Following our way west on the next day (February 22) we saw Pyghella and Faleou islands which Don Louis Torrès had also seen, and which he called Pigouelao [AN: Pikelot] and Faliao [AN: Fayu]. The former [108] had already been seen by Captain Duperrey. Both of them are very small, not being more than a hundred and fifty meters long; they are almost at water level, surrounded by a reef forming a cove on Faliao, and both of them are uninhabited.

12: Lutke--133 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 161 Ifalik

Proportionally, there is a larger population here than on the other groups. While we were lying under the wind of the island, waiting to make the noon observations, we were surrounded by twenty-five canoes with at least a hundred natives.

12: Lutke--327-328 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 161 Lamotrek

In the Namourrek group Louïto [AN: one of the chiefs of the Caroline Islands] says that there are a thousand and four hundred inhabitants, and Freycinet gives two thousand; but the three adjoining groups, [328] taken together contain less than a square verst, and certainly can not nourish more than thirty families.

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--541 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Lamotrek

"In 1930 there were 165 inhabitants, all of whom lived on Lamotrek, the southeastern islet."

15: U. S. Hydrographic Office--541 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 West Fayu

"There are no permanent inhabitants on the island, but natives from Satawal Island often visit it."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 161, 223 Gaferut

"Gaferut (Grimes) Island (9°14'N., 145°23'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 97 miles north-northwest of Olimarao Islands, is low, thickly covered with trees, and encircled by a reef. There are no coconut palms and no inhabitants, but natives from Faraulep Islands visit it to catch birds, which are numerous on it."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Woleaians
116, 161, 225 Olimarao

"There are no permanent inhabitants but natives from Elato Islands come here occasionally to gather tortoise shell."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Elato

"In 1930 there were 72 inhabitants."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Woleai

"In 1930 there were 539 inhabitants on the islands."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Faraulep

"In 1930 there were 155 inhabitants."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--544 1938 Wolcaians
116, 161 Aurupik

"In 1930 there were 113 inhabitants."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--501 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Woleai

"In 1930, there were 539 inhabitants in the group."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --501 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Aurupik

"In 1930, there were 113 inhabitants."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --502 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Ifalik

"In 1930, there were 305 inhabitants of the group who are peaceful on the whole, and some of them understand English."

16: Gt. Britain, H. O. --503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Faraulep

"In 1930, Faraulep and Pigue islets had a total population of 155 including 10 Japanese. Eate islet, the southermost islet, was uninhabited."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131, 136, 161 Gaferut

"Gaferut island, about 60 miles north-eastward of Faraulep islet (Lat. 8° 36' N., Long. 144° 33' E.), is low, wooded, and surrounded by a fringing reef, which extends about 3 cables north-westward from its northern extremity, and about 2 1/2 cables south-south-westward from its southern extremity. The island, which is 65 feet (19m8) high to the tops of the trees, is uninhabited. Numerous booby gannets, which are similar to seagulls, inhabit the island."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Olimarao

"The atoll has no permanent inhabitants, but is occasionally visited by natives from Elato."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--504 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Elato

"In 1930, there were 72 inhabitants [MR: on Elato]."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --504 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Lamotrek

"In 1930, there were 165 inhabitants on Lamotrek islet, including one Japanese. Pugue and Falaite islets were uninhabited."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --505 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 West Fayu

"The island is uninhabited, but natives from Satawal visit it occasionally."

17: Meinicke--357
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
West Fayu

Westfayeu, 803' N., 146° 50' E., is a small flat uninhabited island covered with bushes which with its large reef surrounding it is over a mile long. Five miles to the east of it lies the dangerous sandbank Oraitilipu.

17: Meinicke--358
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Faraulep

Faraulep, 8° 35' N., 144° 36' E., lies NW of Olimarao and is a small uninhabited lagoon island of 1 mile in circumference on whose reef there are 3 small islands of which the most southerly is called Eate.

17: Meinicke--358 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 131, 161. Ifalik

Ifalik, 7°15' N., 144°31' E., is a small flat wooded lagoon island 5 miles east of Ulie and more than a mile in circumference. There are 4 little islands on the reef, the two larger and the only ones inhabited being on the east side and the two smaller ones between which a narrow canoe channel leads into the lagoon on the south side.

17: Meinicke--358
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Olimarao

Olimarao (Cheyne's Five islands, 7°45' N., 145°47' E.) is 2¼ miles WNW of Olato and is a small lagoon island scarcely ¼ a mile long with two small inhabited islands on its reef.

17: Meinicke--359
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Aurupik

Euripik, 6°40' N., 143°11' E., NW of Ulie is a small lagoon island scarcely ½ a mile long on the N side of whose reef there are 2 little islands of which only the easterly one is inhabited.

28: Spiro--5 [2]
116, 161, 621

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"The 252 natives on Ifaluk live on two islands--the island of Felarik with 151 people, and the island of Falalap, with 101. Of the total population, there are 112 males, and 140 females. The islands and the village are identical, so that there is no political name nor boundary. There are two districts on each island, which are distinguished demographically, rather than ecologically. The two districts on Felarik are called Rauau and Felarik, the former being in the southern end of the island, and the latter in the northern half. There are eleven households in Rauau, strung along the main path, which runs parallel to the shore, about twenty-five feet from the beach. Between Rauau and Felarik there is a stretch of uninhabited land, about 200 yards, and then houses appear again. There are eight households, again stretched along the path. The two districts on Falalap, Ievang and Ievol, occupy the southwestern and northern parts of the island respectively, there being six households in the former and four in the latter, and again a stretch of uninhabited land separates them.

These districts are administratively distinct. That is, men of one district will go fishing, without informing the others; or, if seines or fish traps are to be made, they will be made by districts. There is no hard and fast rule dictating this behavior, but it results from the convenience of working with those who live continguously. The districts enjoy a quasi-political status in that each of the five chiefs is recognized as the chief of

at least one of the districts. But this jurisdiction is very tenuous, since the chief of the district does not necessarily live in 'his' district, three of the five chiefs living in Rauau. It is true, however, that a chief will spend much time in his own district, or supervise their work."

33: Hasebe--142
116, 161

(1927) 1928

Woleaians
Woleai

"The population [MR: of Woleai] is 545."

33: Hasebe--142-143
116, 131, 161, 304

(1927) 1928

Woleaians
Aurupik

"Aurupik, also called Aurepig, Aurupeg, Aurupig, Aurepik, Jaurepik, Eauripik, Eurupuc, Eourypyg, Eurupugk, [143] Vaupe, Yaropie, and Kama, is about 65 nautical miles southwest of Oleai, and its population is 102. I examined two men and both of them had tattooing on their wrists."

33: Hasebe--143
116, 131, 161, 304, 103

(1927) 1928

Woleaians
Elato

"Elato, also called Helato, and Ylatu, is 100 nautical miles east of Ifalik, and its population is 92. I examined two men and one of them had tattooing on his wrist. I asked the other one what he called his tattooing. He replied 'matsuku.'"

33: Hasebe--143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131, 161, 304 Ifalik

"Ifalik, also called Ifaluk, Ifalouk, Iviligk, Ibiliek, Ifelug, Ifeluc, Faloc, and Wilson I., is 40 nautical miles east of Oleai, and its population is 296. I examined three men and two of them had tattooing on their wrists."

33: Hasebe--143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131, 161, 304 Lamotrek

"Lamotrek, called also Lamutrik, Namourek, Lamurrek, Lamureck, Lamurec, Mugnac, Lamurrec, Lamorsu, and Amorsot, is about 15 nautical miles east of Elato, and its population is 215. I examined two men, but both of them had no tattooing on their wrists."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufal for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tural changes brought by the West—changes in clothing, in housing, in diet, in customs—have tended to increase the disease problem rather than to alleviate it. But that is a pet peeve of mine.

The population history of Ifaluk itself is not clear. Counts by anthropologists during the period of German control showed populations of 281 in 1903 and 208 in 1909, with an estimate of 300 for 1914. The drop between the first two counts may be a result of the typhoon of 1907—not only direct mortality, but also emigration to other islands as a consequence of food shortage.

The older Ifalukians thought that more people had lived on the island formerly; and from their stories I got to thinking that the population might at some time have reached as much as 500. This was based on accounts of times when even coconuts were carefully shared and nothing was wasted. Abandoned household sites in the village areas might be evidence of some population decline and there were stories of an epidemic, soon after the Japanese appeared, when as many as a dozen people died in a day. This, clearly, was smallpox; and the Japanese started vaccination, which has been maintained by the American authorities.

The island, in 1953, was not overpopulated. The land surface of the atoll was about a half a square mile, so the population of 260 people would represent a density of about 520 persons per square mile: a rather dense population, but we must remember that the people of Ifaluk had also the resources of their lagoon and of the surrounding seas. Ifaluk seemed to me to represent an economy of abundance, and this probably in part explains the idyllic living conditions that prevailed. With more people, with the same resources and the same cultural equipment, life might have been more difficult and unpleasant.

The Ifalukians certainly seemed not only happy, but healthy. It is difficult to make exact comparisons between the Ifalukians and other people because of our uncertainty about precise ages, so that one is likely to be averaging fifteen-year-olds with thirty-year-olds. In general, however, the men seemed to be somewhat smaller and lighter than the American average. The tallest man of the island, Sepemal, was a half inch under six feet. The heaviest (Wolpaitig, the number

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs
262 and chickens. We included domestic animals in our census of the
231 island, and came out with a total of 260 people, five dogs, nineteen cats,
[161] thirty-three pigs and fifty chickens. The pig total included animals of all sizes, so pork was not a common article of diet. Only two pigs were slaughtered during the summer, not, as far as we could see, in celebration of any special occasion. The pork was simply boiled instead of
[052] being roasted in the traditional Polynesian style.

The fifty chickens were regarded also as a source of occasional meat. We found no instance of the eggs being used for food by the local people. Soon after we set up camp, a young man came around with some eggs which he offered to trade with us for cigarettes. We made a deal and started looking forward to next morning's breakfast. We decided to boil the eggs. It turned out that I liked mine at the three minute stage, the others in a somewhat harder condition. So I dipped my eggs out of the pot at the proper time and started to break one open only to disclose, not the expected runny yolk, but a fully developed chick, ready to hatch! A hasty examination showed all of the eggs to be in the same stage.

I don't know whether this was purposeful or accidental. I wondered whether the people knew of the Phillipine delicacy, balut, and assumed that all outsiders like their eggs in a late stage of development. At any
[937] rate, we got the idea across that we would like fresh eggs, and through the summer we were brought a fairly steady supply, always in return for cigarettes. After that first experience, we always carefully candled the eggs, occasionally finding one that seemed to be more chicken than egg, but this apparently by accident.

262 Although the Ifalukians did not eat chicken eggs, they were very fond of turtle eggs, and these at times turned up in good supply. The albumin of a turtle egg (at least of the eggs of the sea turtles of Ifaluk) does not coagulate on cooking. Don had a strong aversion to uncoagulated egg albumin, and I remember watching his efforts to make a turtle egg in a frying pan turn into something that might look like a respectable egg—yolk surrounded by the conventional white stuff to which we are accustomed. But the turtle egg still looked raw, no matter how long he fried it.

I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food